

# СТУДЕНТ

## STUDENT

January-February

1986

## ETUDIANT

ГАЗЕТА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СТУДЕНТСТВА КАНАДИ

50 ¢

CANADA'S NEWSPAPER FOR UKRAINIAN STUDENTS

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**FLEET STREET WATCH OUT!  
EVEN RUPERT MURDOCH WOULD BE IMPRESSED.**

Ivan

# UNITY AMONGST UKRAINIANS? CESUS?

## SUSK and CESUS (OR: NO, WE DIDN'T SELL THE FARM)

It must be common knowledge by now that SUSK entered into some sort of AGREEMENT at the CESUS conference in December and that we are now BOUND to some sort of international Ukrainian Students' network. Common knowledge is not always correct.

You may recall that prior to attending the conference, the vast majority of Ukrainian Canadian students had serious reservations about considering re-joining the infamously divisive CESUS. It's essentially for this reason that SUSK never sent an OFFICIAL delegation to the conference. However, the opinion of a fair cross-section of Ukrainian Canadian students was represented in Toronto. Danylo and I solicited ideas both from the SUSK executive as well as from other interested people. Of course, those who were the most interested in this issue attended the conference. I think that it's also important to say at this point that all those people who had anything valuable to say about this matter had a chance to do so, and those who actually did voice their opinions should be commended for responding in good faith.

The Canadian delegation arrived at the conference with a healthy touch of cynicism as to what was going on. The goals of the conference were, shall we say naive. With all due respect to the organizers, I cannot imagine how they intended the participants to recreate international ties, develop an effective organizational framework, set upon concrete goals for the future, communicate ideas, and have at least one meal all within the short span of seventy-two hours. Needless to say, the law of the jungle took over (i.e. backroom politics) as some of the participants sincerely wanted to get to know what the other countries were thinking about all of this. What shocked the Canadians was that, for the most part, they thought the same way WE did as to how international links, if any, should be developed.

There was a meeting of the Canadian contingent on the Thursday night prior to the conference. At this meeting, a (two thirds) consensus was reached as to what we, as Canadians, wanted to see and would accept at the conference in terms of international TIES- in the obligatory sense of the word. The result of this meeting essentially called for a non-binding network to be used primarily for communication (i.e. exchange of newsletters, addresses, etc.) amongst Ukrainian students in different countries. It was unanimously agreed upon by all those present that in no way would SUSK submit itself to be governed by another, superior organization.

Without going into too detailed a chronology of the events which transpired that weekend I think that it is sufficient to say that it took approximately seventy-two hours of meetings, both Canadian caucuses and actual international negotiations, to reach a compromise on future cooperation. All this had to be accomplished without any one party 'selling out' its ideas. As I mentioned earlier, we were surprised to find that the

Peter Shmigel

On the way home from CeSUS, I missed my airplane and got stuck in Buffalo- that scenic city of cheap motels and fast food. There, in the midst of middle American culture and lots of snow, I had a chance to think over all the international Ukrainian students negotiations I had been privy to over the weekend conference (December 20-22, 1985) in Toronto. Stranded, I was left alone with the questions that need to be applied to CeSUS as to every human endeavor: "So What? What's the big deal?"

As a member of the TUSM delegation, I went up to Toronto with several intentions in mind. First and foremost, I hold as a principle that Ukrainian students need to have an international forum for communication and co-operation; considering our relatively small numbers and the mistakes of the past generations, it is foolish to go on being strangers to each other. Secondly, through communication, I wanted to help TUSM demonstrate to the international Ukrainian student community that TUSM members don't have little horns growing out of their heads. Simply, TUSM wanted to show its peers that it is possible to be a gung-ho Ukrainian nationalist student organization and, yet be guided by democratic methods and respect for other positions. Finally, as a student, I saw CeSUS as an opportunity for a real learning experiences in such a short length of time.

Americans, who we perceived as being some sort of fanatical right-wingers prior to actually meeting them, were easy to work with on a one-to-one level. It was when they attempted to present a consensual position that they became difficult to agree with. In essence, as a group they wanted to create a strong central body, yet individually they just wanted anything that would create unity. In the end, their individual instincts overcame their politics and they were willing to compromise.

I would be doing the entire conference an injustice if I did not emphasize at this point who really determined the results of that weekend. The representatives from France, West Germany, Australia and especially Brazil came literally from afar so as to meet with us and to work something out for the future. Why do we deserve this attention? To be honest, we didn't deserve anything that they had to offer since all it seemed we could offer them was a lesson in how to be divisive and mean-spirited, especially when dealing with fellow Ukrainians. Yet they persisted in their rational understanding that North American Ukrainians are just divisive and mean-spirited by nature and that they had to work under those kinds of conditions. These visitors basically called to what we had in mind and at this point it became painfully obvious that the spirit of the old, hackneyed political CESUS was dead and there was now room for Ukrainians to cooperate successfully on an international scale.

For me, CeSUS was satisfying because all three intentions came to fruition. First, through serious negotiation, all seven Ukrainian Student Organizations participating (SUSK, SUSTA, TUSM, SUSTE-France, SUSTE-Germany, Australia, and Brazil), agreed to a new CeSUS format. In the new structure, the CeSUS executive consists of three non-voting administrative positions (Co-ordinator-Myron Wasyluk, SUSTA, Secretary- Danylo Darevych, Toronto USC, Treasurer- Andre Rudnytskyj, SUSK), and one voting representative from each participating Ukrainian student organization. All executive decision-making is based on the dual principles of unity through unanimity and comprehensive communication. The new framework also needs to be formalized within a new unanimous approved constitution.

More important, perhaps, than the actual outcome of the negotiations was the nature of the negotiations themselves. Almost all parties involved approached the issue with genuine consideration for each others' organizational interests and great integrity. What emerged was more than mechanical mutual respect, but rather a real degree of trust. We talked, got to know each other, and thank goodness became friends.

As a result, for instance, TUSM had the chance to show people its real essence. We talked to people about our concerns, our motivations about Ukraine. People listened. People talked in return. We listened. SUSK members explained to us exactly how SUSK differs from other Ukrainian student organizations. We learned how the SUSK National Executive stands by method of consensus even when it would be much easier to cop out and claim an alleged mandate. We learned

how the SUSK National Executive goes all nine yards to insure that the interests of its members-Eastern and Western Canadian- are being served. Similarly, we learned that 4th generation Brazilian-Ukrainians students still cherish and practice our native language. Or-as evidence by the speeches of the Hon. Yuriy Shymko and Dr. Bohdan Fuley- how much the older generation is legitimately concerned with the well being of CeSUS and the Ukrainian student community in general.

As a personal learning experience, CeSUS was also rich. Within its context, one could pick up pointers on everything from bargaining procedure and compromise to where the good Ukrainian hang-outs are throughout the world. One also learned about that unique Ukrainian spirit that binds us all, consciously or unconsciously.

So, there in Buffalo and hours from my New York City home, the questions "So what?" "What's the big deal?" were answered for me. I believe that there is a great deal of inherent value in free and open communication, friendship, and learning within the Ukrainian context. At CeSUS, Ukrainian students from around the world (and particularly across the border from each other) began to talk, to become friends, and to understand each other. For me, these natural developments are extremely positive because they lead to and reaffirm the realization that not all Ukrainian students have in mind those in the Soviet Union- are quite so fortunate as ourselves. If CeSUS was a step in the right direction for Ukrainian students in the West, then it was surely important to all those Ukrainian students stranded from their freedom in places much harsher than Buffalo.

All that now remained was for a carefully-devised organizational structure to be drawn up so as to ensure that everyone involved could live with one another. The details of this agreement are as follows:

1. The name CESUS was retained so as to obtain instant credibility with the Ukrainian community in general. The name has been in existence for approximately 60 years and has positive connotations with some members of our community.

2. The decision-making unit of this organization would be composed of one representative from each of the following organizations: SUSK, SUSTA(U.S.), TUSM, SUSTE(FRANCE), SUSTE(GERMANY), and student groups from Australia and Brazil. Future entry of other national bodies is expected.

3. All voting, if voting is required, will be done by mutual consent. In other words every country will have a veto in all matters, thus not binding any country to any decision. This may make it sound as though the organization is toothless with respect to decision-making, but decision-making isn't its fundamental goal, communication and cooperation are. I may note that this was the one point upon which our contingent held absolutely firm since any other form of organization would go against our belief in not being subordinate to any other organization.

4. Three administrative positions were appointed in order to facilitate communication. The people and

positions appointed were: Myron Wasyluk (Washington D.C.) as Head Secretary, Danylo Darevych (Toronto) as Technical Secretary, and our own Andrii ('Mr. Wonderful') Rudnicki as Financial Secretary. None of these administrative roles hold voting rights.

5. This entire framework is subject to ratification by each national executive. Our executive has yet to ratify the agreement.
6. Another conference will be held in conjunction with the SUSK congress in August to ratify a more concrete organizational agreement.

Pretty tame stuff. Yet it'll force the groups to cooperate as well as communicate because that's all it can possibly do. It's also a compromise for Canadians: the critics of the old CESUS can't possibly say that we'll get screwed this time because we hold all the cards, as does everyone else; the proponents of CESUS should look at this as a fresh beginning and a basis upon which to work towards future goals. All of us should now relax and deal with our community concerns. CESUS may be around for a long time, but SUSK will be around even if CESUS doesn't succeed.







Is there really student life after pubs, zabavas? Is there any intelligent ecivism left? In the past, students were at the forefront of the calls for social change. Student life was an active existence with little regard for resume padding.

The student movement still exists, but fewer and fewer students are taking part. Why? Firstly the nature of students has changed. In the 1960's students took courses to expand their educational develop as full cultured human beings.

Today the emphasis is on what can the educational system do for me, in order for me to have a job at graduation? This is where the problem comes into play. If education has become more specialized in terms of function how can students fully develop. The only method is by taking part in extracurricular activities. The onus here is on the student. Unfortunately many students miss this opportunity. The initiatives have been taken and there are many areas in which you can help. Those that are now involved, are showing signs of burning out. If you can help, or want to help, contact SUSK, CeSUS, STUDENT, or your local club. We need you no matter what your skills. We need you. Remember you are not only helping diaspora Ukrainians, you are also helping yourself!

STUDENT have for a long time talked about turning STUDENT into a modern publication. I realize that being in Toronto allows us to tap into a large amount of resources but that should in no way inhibit students from across Canada to submit articles or graphics. Your participation in the publication of this paper is requested. Finally I would like to thank SUSK for allowing us to use their newly purchased computer.

Co-ordinating Chairperson  
STUDENT  
Ivan Antoniwi

#### Dear Editors:

It is interesting that a paper that is devoted to Ukrainian-Canadian students, has to be published in English. This shows me that there is a lack of will among the student community to preserve their own language. At CeSUS, the Canadians were the only ones who couldn't caucus in Ukrainian, there must be a signal there. So how about it? Let's try to save something that will give us a method to communicate with each other, especially when there are students that can't speak English.

Yours,  
Cevold Ciroma.

The ball is the your court, lets get some feedback, preferably in Ukrainian-Ed.

## UKRAINIAN ARTICLE...

## ENGLISH REPLY

I read with enthusiasm your article entitled "Kanadzatsilia i Unkrainstvo-De Konflikt", by Markian Dzerowycz published in the November-December issue. His response and commentary to a previous article sparked the following thoughts to which I now address myself.

While Markian must be congratulated for stating so eloquently the mandate of Canadians of Ukrainian origin, I feel, indeed, some conflicts do exist within the prescribed mandate. I agree that as Canadian Ukrainian we should be concerned with developing and maintaining a contemporary Canadian Ukrainian culture, whatever that implies, rather than trying to preserve romantic Kozachyna images that our

forefathers brought with them as part of their treasures when they immigrated to Canada. To preserve, as defined by the Webster Universal Dictionary, means to keep from destruction. Preserves belong in museums as remnants of what was once alive or meaningful of on your local supermarkets shelf. If we preserve Ukrainian culture in Canada, we are signing its and our own death certificate. We must develop it, not preserve it. Perhaps I can clarify with the adage, "rozvyvaty a ne zberihaty." Of course, as Markian correctly stated, we must develop our culture on a foundation of a rich heritage, our heritage which is comprised of history, art, and folklore just to name a few of the important components. One problem which is evident to me, however, is that the foundation is indeed crumbling. How many people are truly well-versed in the history, politics literature, folk-life, and lore of Ukraine, past present? How many unsuspecting Canadians of Ukrainian heritage have reduced a vibrant and scintillating history and diversified culture to a few visible symbols: to a cross-stitched blouse, to an egg, to a kozychok? Such a tradition, such a past reduced to and identified with a cabbage roll? In order to build and develop a strong and steadfast foundation is indeed in order. Markian goes on to say that as Canadian-Ukrainians, we should not be responsible for the preservation of the Ukrainian language. I must agree, for reasons stated above, that we should not preserve our melodious language. But to not develop it is indeed an absurdity. As members of an ethnos, our language is and must be one of our unifying elements. Further, how will our Ukrainian choirs and schools, of which Markian makes mention, function without language? Like Markian I agree that we must rise up and break the chains not from pany but from Ukraine. She must fight her own battles. I, too, am convinced our fight to free a country thousands of miles away should be buried with our romantic kozachyna images. However, within our diaspora, we must continue to battle for Human Rights in Ukraine and in the greater

Soviet Union. WE must band together and lobby to free dissidents or at least to make their plight known to the rest of the world, a world which all too often turns a deaf ear to moans of injustice. Kanadzatsilia i Unkrainstvo-je konflikt.

Rena Hanchuk: Regina

Thank you for your letter, the ideas were needed, but, it also typifies the attitudes of the student community. STUDENT has been criticised for its lack of Ukrainian in the paper. Yet no one is willing to write in Ukrainian. The best way in which to state your point about the language is by example. We understand that it is difficult to type in Ukrainian, but we are willing to accept neatly hand printed articles. We understand that it will take more time but it is time worth using. -The Editors

## JURY'S OUT

Thank you for your November-December 1985 issue covering various aspects of the war criminal issue in Canada today.

Referring to some of the questions by Mr. Dubczak:

1. The reader is not likely to have received much information from the Civil Liberties Commission. The communications with the community aspects of the Commission activities limped in 1985. It may improve in 1986.
2. The Ukrainian Canadian position on aspects of the issue is contained in the statements of 14 Feb. '85 and November '85, issued by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. This statement deals with the Commission of Inquiry on War Criminals and closely related issues.

Yours truly,  
J.B. Gregorovich  
Toronto

We'll reserve judgement, until 1987-Ed.

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STUDENT is a national monthly newspaper for Ukrainian-Canadian students, published by SUSK (Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union).

STUDENT is an open forum for fact and opinion, reflecting the interests of Ukrainian-Canadian students on various topics - social, cultural, political and religious. The opinions and thoughts expressed in individual signed articles are the responsibility of their authors, and not necessarily those of the STUDENT staff. STUDENT's role is to serve as a medium through which discussion can be conducted on given issues from any point of view. Letters to the editor are welcome. We reserve the right to edit materials for publication.

### STUDENT

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# NO APOLOGIES

You know, when this whole Deschenes business began, I was pretty annoyed to see the word "Ukrainian" being used in the papers as an adjective for such vulgarities as "war criminals" or "SS Man". Yet, in my naive way, I believed that the Canadian public, the journalists especially, would react in an enlightened manner and realize that not all Ukrainians are war criminals. Most did see through the propaganda, but a minority fell for it and persisted in spreading the "news".

Now you may ask yourself, just as I did: What do I care? It's just a bunch of loonies spreading lies, and I'm protected by the Charter of Rights anyways. But then a friend's little brother was called a 'war criminal' for wearing his Plast uniform in public. Then I saw older members of my community, whom I had admired since childhood, lose their outspoken pride for their wartime heroism. These are not war criminals, the facts bear that out, these are Canadian citizens who have been denied the right to be proud of their personal past. Do they have any way of protecting this pride, through the Charter perhaps? No. If you think about it, it doesn't take much to lose your honoured place in this wonderful mosaic of ours.

If there ever emerges a situation where a Ukrainian is proven to have committed 'war crimes' according to Canadian judicial rules, I'll not defend him. He deserves what he gets.

And what did the Ukrainian community do? It established the Civil Liberties Commission, to represent it before the Deschenes Commission. This is an admirable feat considering the fact that Ukrainians usually take months haggling over their assorted 'demonstratsiyi'. At least they now had first-rate representation by one of Canada's top lawyers. Yet they're still hiding behind this one initial "good idea".

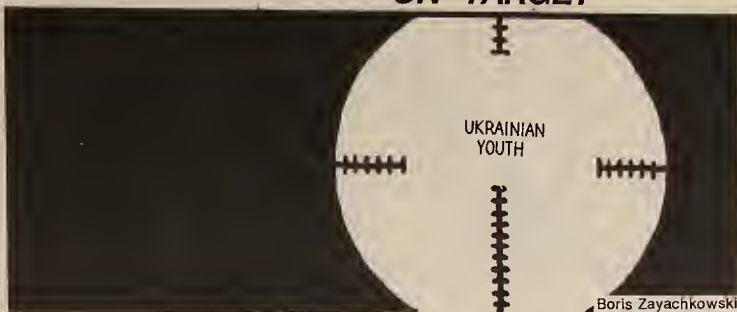
I don't know if the CLC realizes this, but while speeches to the P's and B's may inflate the coffers, they're not restoring our image with the rest of Canada.

The Ukrainian community's name has been smeared by false and irresponsible allegations. I'm not going to be ashamed to call myself a Ukrainian Canadian just because some idiot decided to pick on my community as a starting point for a witch hunt. I'm also not going to wait for Deschenes to bring down his ruling either. We all know that Brian's not going to hurt his position with the Ethnic Voters anymore than he already has by following through with what ever Deschenes recommends.

I think that now it's time to play by THEIR RULES. To join the mainstream, that is, I joined the Canadian Civil Liberties Association the other day. This organization professes to defend the civil rights of all Canadians. Now, I'm a Canadian, my civil rights have been abused, so I'm going to use the mainstream to see what can be done about it. I'm also going to keep supporting this organization because I've experienced first-hand how it is to feel like a fugitive component of the Canadian mosaic. I urge all of you to join these mainstream organizations so that we as Ukrainian can make THEIR RULES more a reflection of US.

Roman Dubczak

## ON TARGET



The fate of the Ukrainian community in Canada rests to a great degree on the shoulders of its youth. Earlier generations have attempted to provide a groundwork upon which the Ukrainian community in Canada can develop; retaining its cultural identity while striving to be accepted as an equal in the decision making processes of this country. This is a goal which can be achieved solely through the initiative of our youth. Unfortunately, this initiative seems to be sorely lacking.

Some disturbing trends have developed reflecting Ukrainian students' attitudes towards education. Several stereotypes have emerged as a result.

The average Ukrainian student drifts aimlessly through post-secondary education with no real goal and at very best a general programme of study. After going on the 6-year plan in an effort to gain some direction while dabbling in a wide variety of courses, they might graduate with a B.A. or M.R.S. degree and possibly obtain semi-sufficient employment.

A second group usually lacks direction at the outset but fortunately has parents willing to push the child at all costs to ensure some semblance of achievement and success. Unmotivated initially, some of these students mature over time to the point of eventually appreciating their parents' efforts, while others complete their pre-chosen degree programs solely to satisfy their parents and then plod through life, wishing they were doing something else. While the obsession that every Ukrainian mother wishes her child to either become (or marry) a lawyer or doctor remains a fixture to this day, merely attaining the piece of paper in whatever field of study is not nearly as important as what you do with that piece of paper upon graduation.

Another increasingly popular route for male youths within the community is the decision to opt for the priesthood, usually after several years of soul searching. While there are those who legitimately enter the priesthood for spiritual reasons and deserve the community's wholehearted support, there are others who flee to the nearest theology programme when the time comes to finally begin to take life seriously. These young men become parasites to the community, using the congregation for a steady income and life-long job. The result for the community is more harm than good. Our churches

are community centres requiring clergy with strong leadership skills. How such priests can possibly provide effective leadership and guidance to the congregation when they had no direction themselves, remains a mystery. One wonders whether the phenomenon will continue when and if women are allowed to become ordained as priests within the Ukrainian community.

A fourth group includes those students who preoccupy themselves with ideological and philosophical debates about Ukraine's freedom, language retention, etc., at the expense of more practical pursuits at home. Such students' objectives, however admirable could be better served differently. By achieving credibility in the real world within a profession of influence and clout, they could be taken more seriously by their peers beyond the Ukrainian community and would be better suited to act on their ideals and successfully pursue such causes.

Finally, you have the occasional ambitious upwardly-mobile Ukrainian student who usually faces an uphill battle. A lack of support from the older generations, coupled with an absence of common ground amongst his (or her) peers leads him to leave community life to pursue professional interests. This departure usually becomes permanent as he/she prefers to circulate in non-Ukrainian circles with people who have similar interests professionally and with whom he has much more in common.

All in all, this paints a very dismal picture. Add to this the significant number of Ukrainian youth who never even get to university (about 45%), and the situation becomes even bleaker.

It is time, once and for all, to rise to the challenge confronting Ukrainian youth. No longer is it acceptable to continue using yesterday's discrimination and hardship as an excuse for today's failure. Motivate yourselves to aspire to something better. The Ukrainian community desperately needs highly competent and qualified lawyers, media representatives, politicians, and other professionals who can use their positions as a source of influence, to raise the profile of the Ukrainian community in Canada to that of a force to be reckoned with. If this initiative is not taken, the Ukrainian community will continue to be referred to as "ethnics", failing to maximize its potential, remembered solely for its lively folk dance and "Nazi collaboration".

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Adrain Iwachiw

The article "Peacenik Protests: Foresight or Folly" featured on the front page of STUDENT's, September issue, clearly exemplified and graphically revealed the shortcomings of Ukrainian attitudes towards the peace movement.

The author's presentation of Soviet repression of the Moscow Trust Group was, of course, commendable; the Trust Group is only one example of independent activities being severely punished by the state, and the fact that this repression exists needs to be reiterated again and again. However her singular dismissal of the "Western peace movement" was simplistic, overgeneralized, and clearly not well researched.

In fact there are Western peace groups that have actively and vocally supported the struggles of independent Eastern bloc peace and human rights activities. In Western Europe in particular, there is a growing movement of East-West dialogue between independent and unofficial groups on both sides of the Iron Curtain; this nonaligned movement includes the well-known British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), and European Nuclear Disarmament (END), as well as the Dutch IKV, the French CODENE, and other organizations. For their criticisms of the Soviet Union, CND, END IKV and the Bertrand Russel Peace Fund have been heard by the Soviet Press as "agents of NATO and Imperialism", "infiltrated by Western Security Services", into the Western peace movement for "ideological terrorism" against the Soviet bloc. The strongest criticism has been reserved for British historian, disarmament spokesman and founding member of END, E.P. Thompson, who was called "the noisiest mouthpiece of these anti-Soviet conceptions." (This is reported in exiled Trust Group member Sergei Batovrin's Return Address: Moscow, an "international news bulletin on independent peace activity in the USSR.")

Considering the size of END and CND, one may well ask where people who share the opinions of the author have been all along. It may be true that opinion within these peace groups varies somewhat, and that Canadian and American peace organizations are much more inclined to focus their criticism exclusively on American militarism, (since they do not feel the internal division of their continent, as Europeans do); however, generalities only serve to obscure the more complex reality. At a recent conference in Toronto, where representatives from some 250 peace organizations founded the Canadian Peace Alliance, the differences of opinion among those present were often glaringly obvious. A report in the weekly newspaper, NOW focused particularly on the philosophical distance between the (relatively), pro-Soviet Canadian Peace Congress and on the other hand, groups like ACT for Disarmament, which called for a more explicit statement of support for dissident peace activities in the East.

ACT (formerly, Against Cruise Testing, but since having broadened its scope considerably) has been actively promoting solidarity with East European dissident activists since at least 1983. They have drawn attention to imprisoned Moscow Trust Group members, such as Vladimir Brodsky and Olga Medvedkova, organized protest demos in front of the Soviet embassy in Ottawa, and sponsored public forums by Tatyana Mamonova and, last November by exiled Trust Group Member Mark Reitman. This past fall ACT, member Bruce Allen also presented a forum on the East European independent peace movements throughout a local alternative educational network called the Free University, which itself, earlier in 1985, held a public forum entitled "New Directions

## GRIN AND "BEAR" IT

in the Peace Movement", at which the question of the Soviet Union was a significant topic of discussion.

Publications exist, also, that are engaged in promoting dialogue between dissident Eastern groups and the West. The journal Across Frontiers, a quarterly devoted to the Eastern European democratic oppositional movements, and Peace and Democracy News (published by the Campaign for Peace and Democratic/East and West) have been consistently publishing some of the most important documents issued (or smuggled) out of Eastern Europe: these have included Chapter 77's Open Letter to the END conferences (the latest of these, their "Prague Appeal" dealt with the indivisibility of "peace" with issues of human rights and freedoms, democracy and self-determination), and statements from activities involved in Hungary's Dialogue, Poland's KOR and Solidarnosc, and East German independent peace groups, all side-by-side with articles by Western writers such as E. P. Thompson. Several books of documents from Eastern dissidents have been published by END and Palach Press in England. The central idea in many of these has been the need to work towards a Europe free of the "bloc" (Beyond the Blocs is the title of a recent book by Thompson). Of interest also was a letter, printed in

Across Frontiers, protesting the arrests and imprisonment earlier this year of three prominent Polish Solidarity activists (Adam Michnik, Bogdan Lis, and Wladyslaw Fransyniuk); the letter was signed by a number of well-known American peace activists, among them; Daniel Ellsberg, Noam Chomsky, Todd Gitlin and a couple of the editors of Mother Jones and In These Times.

What all this reveals is that, contrary to the rather simplistic opinions of many critical of the peace movement, and perhaps contrary to the picture provided by the mass media, certain Western peace organizations and activists are well aware and supportive of independent activists in the Eastern bloc. Many of the groups and individuals listed above view peace not merely as the absence of war, but as the ability of societies to be at peace within themselves, and for some, it is clear that only a grass-roots democratic, self-managed society can be such.

The Cold War, on the other hand, is a product of the diseased interaction between diseased social growths; it has taken on a life of its own quite apart from the willful intent of either party involved, and therefore, any action now that plays into the hands of one side at the expense of the other, necessarily feeds the Cold War itself. It is usually in the interests of both the US and the USSR to ignore independent activists, wherever they may be, since many of them ask deep and embarrassing questions about the nature of both systems. (The Western, so-called "free world" can easily be criticized for its exploitative economic relationships, particularly with the Third World, for its monolithic drive to industrialize and commoditize at the expense of the environment and of minority cultural groups, and for the alienating, hierarchic and bureaucratic internal structures of its nations, all of which leads to the progressive decay of the cherished traditions of "freedom", "democracy", and the other catch words we presume to value so much. Of course, the Eastern dissidents who receive the greatest publicity are those, like Solzhenitsyn, who mute any criticism of the West.) Ukrainians should know by now that no nation in a position of power will concern itself with our problems except to the extent that its own interests are served, (Western governments' non-existent response to the 1932-33 famine should have taught us that).

Therefore the best action on our part is not to appeal to President Reagan to take action against the Soviets, but rather to in effect "infiltrate" the Western peace movement, by disseminating our own signs, posters, and slogans at peace marches, (denouncing Soviet involvement in Afghanistan, asking for removal of SS-20's in Eastern Europe, etc.), and by supporting the groups within the peace movement who are demonstrating solidarity with Eastern bloc

dissidents. Only in this way will the peace movement become less susceptible to being used by the Soviets-- for, how can they show photographs and television clips of Western peace demonstrations if these prominently display posters condemning Soviet militarism and human rights violations?

Ultimately, however, the peace movement is less a single-minded, well-organized crusade, as it is a widespread movement of individuals questioning the direction in which our world is heading. It is not, nor should not be, merely a mass-mobilization drive to convince our leaders to disarm (while somehow leaving the present political structures intact- though, admittedly this is what many within it would unfortunately like). Rather, it should take on the character of a mutually-informing wide-ranging, free discussion among people with a common goal. As such a discussion needs our input in order to be effective in the long run, and to be realistic about its international implications and possibilities.

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Letter from Pat Yaremchuk:

Dear Student editors:  
Vitayou vas (good try). I'm freeing here in the middle of nowhere, but have defrosted myself to write all my news. As you know, I established a club at Lakehead University. We had our first event, a Mykolayko Pub, on Dec. 13. It was a smashing success. Everyone got smashed! The doors had to be shut before 10 P.M. and there were over 300 people. Not too bad for T. Bay. Anyway, here's the rundown of what's happening in the Laurentian Area.

#### Lakehead U.

Feb 21-23 Multicultural Conference at L.U. for M.P.'s.  
Mar ? M. Movchan (tentative)

#### Ottawa U.

Mar 15 Annual Easter Egg Decorating Workshop  
Apr ? End of The Year Party (tentative)

#### Concordia U.

Mar. 12-14 Ukrainian Week- Displays in Unicenter, Cabaret Night...

Jan 1' -Daria resigned her presidency. She's getting married...congratulations. You didn't tell us who the lucky guy is????

Jan 1 -Natalia Witkosky (the old V.P.) took over the presidency. New Address:

7923 Baribeau,  
LaSalle, Que.  
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(514) 366-0326

Concordia has organized a Library Committee to get more Ukrainian books on their shelves, - good project for all clubs.

#### McGill U.

Feb 23-28 - Ukrainian Week- exhibit on Deschenes Commission, Pysanky display, pub night.

1. Brock University Ukrainian Students' Club will be holding its annual volleyball tournament March 8, 1986. The tournament will be held at two locations: Sir Winston Churchill High School on Glen Morris Drive and at Brock University. The tournament will be preceded by a Cocktail Night, on Friday March 7, 1986. Following the tournament there will be an awards dance with the group Odnoczasnist entertaining. Admission for the dance is rumoured to be about \$8.00 per person. Both social events will be held at the Black Sea Hall in St. Catharines.

Teams for the tournament can be entered in two divisions; 1) competitive, 2) recreational. Each team must have at least (at the same time) two members of either sex on the court in a game. Registration cost for the tournament for one team is \$60.00.

For further information call Orest Tkaczuk in St. Catharines at (416)-937-5478.

2. Deschenes documentary is projected to be shown on the Journal CBC TV either on the 24th of February 1986 or during that week. Please, watch for it.



SUSK would like to thank the following people for their help, advice, or contributions to the Eastern SUSK Conference:

Co-ordinator:

Andre Rudnicki

Committee Heads:

Adrian Chomenko  
Diane Dagenais  
Andrij Hluchowecy  
Danny Kocisko  
Lydia Lukianenko  
Melanie Pawlik  
Roman Wynnycky  
Wasyly Wysoczanskyj

In Addition:

Peter Blyszczak  
Ronnie Blyszczak  
Julie-Anne Bourret  
Chrystia Chudczak  
Irene Dorosz  
Danylo Dzikewicz  
Luba Gayda  
Markian Haley  
Lydia Hladyshewsky  
Roman Karpishka  
Lida Kulish  
Mike Lysyk  
Helen Moroz  
Adrienne Mysak  
Orest Nowosad  
"OKO"  
Natalie Orliwsky  
Sonia Pasternak  
Markian Pawliw  
Jacquie Plamondon  
Roman Poluha  
Public Relations Dept. Conc. U.  
Laryssa Rozumna  
Reed Scowen  
Roman Serbyn  
Debbie Shawaga  
Peggy Sifakis  
Christos Sirros  
Greg Smolynech  
Kathy Smolynech  
Jeffrey Stephaniuk  
"STUDENT"  
Daria Tomaszczuk  
Ukrainian Catholic Parish of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary  
"Ukrainian Weekly"  
Visiting Lecturers Committee, Conc. U. Students' Assoc.  
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Helen Wolansky

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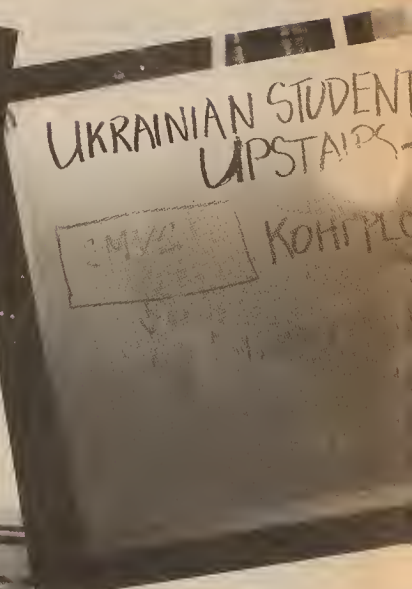
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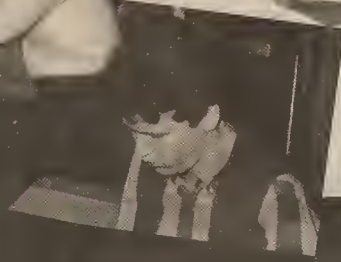
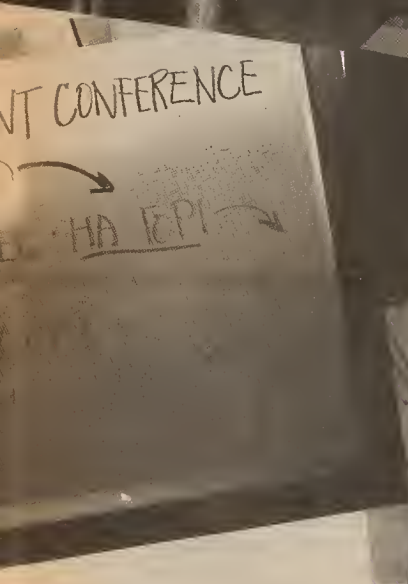


PHOTO CREDITS: Ivan Antoniwi, Bohdan D. Stukalo.



# CESUS: WORTH THE TRIP

Bohdan Stukalo

The end of December usually means two things to most students: exams and the Christmas break. This year (1985), a new event occurred in Toronto. That event was a conference whose main purpose was the reestablishment of CeSUS held in Toronto's University.

Being a novice at Ukrainian student politics, I saw this as an opportunity to see what is occurring on the international front. It also gave me an opportunity to meet new students, not only from North America, but from around the globe. Also, being active in Canadian politics, this gave me an interesting perspective from which to observe.

The normal agenda setting, establishing of positions occurred, but there was one interesting anomaly. There was no attempt made at contingency plans. Could this be a foreshadowing that there would be agreement amongst the delegates, or a show of inexperience, or the inflexibility of some groups to change their positions.

The Friday sessions went well, with two casualties, those being the schedule, and the principles of one of the Moderators; by so doing, he managed to alienate some of the participants that did not speak the English language. More importantly Friday afforded the participants the opportunity to get to know one another. Unfortunately, some of the participants missed this opportunity preferring to stay in their hotel rooms, and segregating themselves from the more social proceedings.

Saturday dawned much too early for those of us who socialized until the early hours of the morning. The sessions themselves could be summed up in one word; Caucus (my apologies to the participants for using that word.). SUSK was the first to request this, and began the day with a 9:30 meeting in the hotel. Much to the surprise of SUSK itself, the Canadians were divided as to their feelings towards CeSUS. Needless to say this position, along with the backroom dealings that were occurring, caused many SUSK'ites to miss the morning sessions, and many good speakers from the outside community.

The afternoon had the formal presentation of a new structure for CeSUS, based on a model presented by SUSK. The other participants, compromised, from their original positions, by accepting this new model. It was at this point that SUSK could not even accept their own structural format, and the long caucus began. Having attended the SOUSTA and TUSM caucuses, with their pro-CeSUS, and very business like attitudes, the SUSK caucus took me back to the type of meetings that would make the old generations proud. The caucus started with extremists at both ends of the spectrum, trying to polarize the centre. Rationality did not exist. The inflexibility of both sides left one with the question as to whose interests were being served? Thus the entire question of the fate of CeSUS would have to remain undealt with.

The evening provided for more socializing. A banquet was held in honour of the participants. The most interesting speaker of that evening was a Senator's aid, who brought us up to

date on the Medvid case, (see article this issue.) The only black mark on that evening was the interuptual parade, by the Avant Garde Theatre Group. Demonstrations of this nature are uncalled for and can only belittle the Community in the eyes of non-Ukrainians present. The group was able to slightly redeem themselves by their presentation of two short plays after the dinner.

After the plays, an extremist faction of SUSK, called for another caucus, while the other participants were making their way over to "Trembita" for more socializing, we Canadians were faced with the prospect of more senseless arguing, and political maneuvering. The group that called the meeting presented the same position that was presented that morning, ie. no to CeSUS. This left the impression that the day was wasted, or that the movement to some type of consensus was not to their liking.

Meanwhile at "Trembita" the party proved to be a much needed break for the participants. Some of the SUSK members later joined in, thereby making the evening more promising than that of Friday.

Sunday morning proved that two nights without sleep will take their toll on even the healthiest among us. Sunday morning was spent in caucus and checking out of the hotel.

By afternoon SUSK's moderate element, spoke up and saved the day for CeSUS. The final vote in the Canadian caucus was an overwhelming three to one in favour. The next order of business was to set up a bureaucratic structure for the organization. This structure consists of a Chairman, (Myron Wasyluk), Secretary, (Danylo Darevych), and Treasurer, (Andre Rudnytsky).

Following the closing "molitva" a number of participants headed for the Ukrainian Cultural Centre, where a dinner and drinks were given to the participants. (thanks to the Centre for their hospitality.) Warm and tearful goodbyes and promises of future meetings were made.

The final outcomes over the weekend:

1. CeSUS exists!
2. Many new friendships were made, old ones strengthened.
3. SUSK showed its great command of the Ukrainian language by being the only organization that couldn't caucus in Ukrainian, leaving our non-English speaking participants to fend for translators.
4. STUDENT has become the official informational newsletter for CeSUS.
5. A feeling of international co-operation among Ukrainian students.
6. An understanding of the past, and by learning from it, we didn't become prisoners of it.
7. An understanding of a marked need for CeSUS, by students across the globe.
8. A better understanding of the problems that are faced by the different participating student organizations.
9. An understanding of the strengths that each student group has, and how these strengths can be cross taught.
10. A concrete reason as to why the Ukrainian language is important. A heartfelt thanks to the delegation from France.

11. A new type of political (democratic) organizational structure that proves that Ukrainians are really radical political thinkers.

12. A renewed fear in the Soviet Union that students through CeSUS will gain public recognition, as to the atrocities that the USSR committed against our people.



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# STATE OF THE UNION

Christmas has come and gone; the year 1986 has arrived. The new year marks the midpoint for most Ukrainian Students' Clubs or Association Executives; Also, it marks the end of four months' work by the SUSK Executive. As we head toward the February Conference in Winnipeg, it is a good time to remember the STUDENT article in the February 1985 issue, which claimed the leadership of SUSK was pirouetting in a vacuum. Each SUSK Executive member has his/her constitutionally defined duties complemented by policy directives set down by the delegates at the 1985 SUSK Congress in Toronto, in August. The responsibility to ensure that everything is being done according to guidelines and plans lies not only with the individual SUSK Executive members, but also the responsibility of each of the local Presidents and his/her Executives.

The 1985-86 SUSK Executive, as other previous SUSK Executives, began its term of office with great enthusiasm and promise. In past years, complications, such as a lack of finances, undermined the entire SUSK program and installed that cancerous growth called apathy into the most talented and creative individuals. This year, the SUSK Executive will not be able to blame lack of performance on insurmountable debts, or financial instability, for the first time in years; SUSK is not in debt.

For the sake of expediency, I will not regurgitate SUSK's plan of action (outlined in earlier issues of STUDENT); however, I will highlight that which has occurred to this point.

FIRST, SUSK in line with its most important objective, has made overtures to the Civil Liberties Commission (CLC) to coordinate SUSK activities with those of the CLC so as to ensure the most effective Ukrainian Canadian front. A front which is ready to deal with the defamatory problems posed by the Deschenes Commission and the resulting media coverage and public perceptions. Unfortunately the CLC has provided SUSK with only minimal advice as to how SUSK could inform its membership to act. SUSK has submitted a brief to the Deschenes Commission; letters voicing SUSK's concern over the use of Soviet evidence have been written to Members of Parliament. Local USC's have been provided with the necessary tools and information to write/lobby the media and the government; and a massive lobbying campaign is currently being organized.

Secondly, the Director of Multiculturalism and Culture has prepared and is circulating a cultural package for each of the clubs to use at their university campuses during Ukrainian month. In addition, the government is being lobbied and monitored for new policy developments and project funding.

In the area of Human Rights, SUSK has attempted to organize an Eastern tour for Mykola Movchan and Ludmila Thorn to present the Afghanistan situation, unfortunately because of organizational difficulties the tour has yet to come off in the East. A Western tour is scheduled for February 1986, and at this time thanks to Orest Novosad, Vice-President Internal, appears ready to go. Plans for Mykolajko, the adoption of a political prisoner and the participation in other significant Human Rights events have not been adequately implemented- hopefully the situation will rectify itself between now and the SUSK Congress.

With respect to communications, all clubs have been receiving regular mail from SUSK and each SUSK Executive member has been encouraged to write letters outlining his/her plans. Conversely, little mail has been received by SUSK Executive members, or the SUSK Office in Toronto. Individual members or USC Presidents must communicate their criticisms of SUSK's work.

SUSK has purchased its first computer and is now awaiting letters of response from all the clubs outlining the potentials and the feasibility of establishing a computer network. I encourage everyone to respond to Andre Rudnicki, Director of Communication and Publications, as soon as possible. Over the next eight months, SUSK should be able to further enhance its image by issuing periodic press releases in Ukrainian newspaper across Canada and the United States. For its part STUDENT, is becoming regularized and a publication contract between the SUSK Executive and the STUDENT collective should be concluded before this issue gets into print. My biggest disappointment; however, has been to hear that recent issues of STUDENT, although delivered in bulk to several clubs, have not been distributed to the individual members. STUDENT can never be effective if it does not receive grass root support in all areas from local Ukrainian Students' Clubs.

Finally, I would just like to expand on SUSK's greatest accomplishment this year. As mentioned SUSK is no longer in debt. Primarily this is due to the efforts of Peter Opar,

who in a non-elected capacity has worked diligently to bring financial stability to SUSK. With financial stability, there are no reasons why any SUSK plan should not be implemented as set down by the SUSK Congress, and no SUSK Executive members should have trouble fulfilling the parameters of his/her portfolio.

As President, I feel it is my duty to encourage each member on the SUSK Executive to fulfill his/her duties. To this end, I hope to encourage the Ukrainian Students' Club Presidents, their Executives and/or the membership to inform the Regional Vice-Presidents, the Director of Publications and Communications and myself as to how their club activities are progressing. If a Club is having

problems or someone has suggestions and/or complaints for a certain SUSK portfolio be it Human Rights Publications & Communications, Multiculturalism and Culture, Alumni, etc register them with the relevant position, notify me or complain in STUDENT. You should get results! If not, the SUSK executive will have failed its mandate.

The enthusiasm of the August 1985 Congress, should not be allowed to fade and in order to keep progressing it will need encouragement which must come from you. It will be of no benefit if no one voices their displeasures, till they get to the SUSK Congress in Edmonton. Why wait eight months- COMPLAIN NOW AND CALL FOR ACTION - much more will be accomplished if you do!!

## TRADITIONS RE-THOUGHT

Jeffrey D. Stephaniuk

The first article of my new column is on Christmas. I am aware of the awkwardness of writing (or reading) something about Christmas two months after the fact. However, there are three reasons why I do so now: The first is that reflecting on something in hindsight is often fruitful, since we are not occupied with the many activities of the season.

The second reason is that the themes of Christmas are applicable throughout the year.

Third, I am reacting against the purging of religious articles and terminology that is happening right now in the Soviet Union. (Cite "Soviet media carries discussion on 'archaic' religious terminology" in *The Ukrainian Weekly*, January 19, 1986, as an example). In the Soviet Union, a conscious effort is being undertaken (and has been happening for years), to rid her media and society in general of such terminology and the lifestyle it represents. In Canada, for certain reasons, many readers are mentally "turned off" by the inclusion of such articles and terminology. One reason is the religious history our generation has inherited, which includes both our experience of the religion of Ukrainians in specific and of Canada in general. That history is often one of misunderstanding and misuse of the theological interpretation of things, and where such terminology has been thrown around carelessly. When that is the case, the reader is right to take things with a grain of salt.

With this in mind, I take the calculated risk that the benefits of writing on a theme that includes religious terminology, will outweigh the potential dangers. The least of my motivations is to spite the Soviets. The most important of my goals is to present reasonable reflections that will be of value to the reader.

I thought for a while that I was the only one that did not like Christmas. Then I heard from a friend of mine that her boss, a manager of a commercial store in a very big shopping center, gets depressed by the thought of Christmas. That makes, at least two of us. But then, you have to understand: this is Toronto in the 1980's, a time in secular development of what can loosely be called "Christmas traditions" when terms like "superficial" and "commercialized" are understatements. This is a time when the professional advertisers have their system of advanced planning so finely tuned that one begins to hear about Christmas in late October.

This is the type of Christmas that I can do without. In fact, it seems to me that any sane person soon reaches a point where he or she says that I must get beyond this.

I do admit though, that the advertisers are onto something with their "start early" policy. First Christmas is the type of event that is worth preparing for. Second, it is also worth hearing about before the event itself (and after the event, as is the case here). It is proper to say that the meaning of Christmas transcends time and is with us all year long.

It is good to designate a specific season for the communal acknowledgement and expression of the theme of Christmas. Doing so has many worthwhile consequences, like the opportunity to re-focus one's thoughts on what brings meaning to one's life, and to share that with loved ones.

To the credit of Ukrainian retention of traditions, we have a rich expression and understanding of Christmas. The learning of and participation in our traditions are very worthwhile. They are ours, and are a way of understanding this event that non-Ukrainians can benefit from. Keeping St. Nicholas Day and Christmas Day separate is an example. The closeness of nature, humans and the divine as expressed in our traditions is another. Such examples make me glad to be Ukrainian, for they offer true refuge and meaning throughout the events as I go on my "walk through life". (I even feel sorry for those non-Ukrainians who have almost nothing else to turn to in this regard apart from the cardboard and commercialized "traditions" of X-mas.)

Since Christmas is a religious holiday, I must conclude with an explicit Christian understanding of Christmas "Z Nemu Boh" or "God is with us".

In the Old Testament, a very important theme was that God was very much and personally involved in human history. The mystery of Christmas is that this personal involvement of God has taken flesh and blood in a human, Jesus Christ. Can you believe that? It becomes quite powerful when and if you can. Imagine what the implications are of saying that God is with the Ukrainians in their history: with Ukraine, a country which has for centuries been tossed around amongst her neighbours and has experienced a World War on her own soil; with the Diaspora, who have been uprooted from their homeland and experienced all that it means to be strangers in a strange land.

How does that change the perspective and evaluations of that history to say with conviction that God has been with Ukrainians through it all and continues to be with us? It means in part, that a response other than bitterness, hatred or apathy is at least conceivable if not fully within our reach. In regards to our personal lives, or our community involvements, the "growing pains" that must come can be seen in a less overwhelming light. To believe that "God is with us" has the implication of likewise believing that solutions and "better days" are always possible. Doesn't that just change the purpose of community involvement and really bring out the celebration and meaning of Christmas?

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# ETHNIC EXOTICA...

## Abstract:

The Canadian Government's 1969 Royal Commission Report on Bilingualism and Biculturalism stated the importance of "man (as a) thinking and sensitive being; severing him from his roots could destroy an aspect of his personality and deprive society of some of the values he can bring it." Like the previous volumes, the tabled Fourth Volume of the report entitled, "The Cultural Contribution of Other Ethnic Groups", declared Canada to be a bilingual and bicultural country. Hypocritically denying the existence of a vibrant ethnocultural pluralism in Canada prompted outcry from those communities causing then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau to table a policy statement on October 8, 1971 directly contrasting the commission's report. Canada was declared to be a "multicultural country within a bilingual framework" with the policy promising to promote the most suitable means of "assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians". This hollow assurance, ardently fought for by various ethnic groups, only superficially provided the framework for potential ethnocultural group recognition within the Anglo-Saxon and Francophone structure.

Today, young Canadians represent a generation of ethnocultural youth socialized within the parameters of the federal multicultural policy. Fifteen years later, we are the product of bilingual education; embryonic heritage language program; cultural forums and exchanges; multicultural conference and festivals celebrating Canada's multi-ethnicity in song and dance. However, a policy that should have provided an impetus for propelling ethnocultural groups into mainstream institutional structures of Anglo-Saxon Francophone society has failed miserably in achieving the goal of an egalitarian Canada.

Multiculturalism policy in Canada has only paid lip-service to a potentially dynamic and far-reaching social process of change. It has ignored basic collective group rights of ethnocultural communities and of aboriginal peoples. It has reaffirmed the paradox, pointed out by John Porter, of our society's unacceptance of positively linking upward mobility to ethnocultural community allegiance thus perpetuating the notion of inequality of opportunity. It has further divided the mythical Canadian cultural mosaic creating dual public and private sectors each exhibiting conflicting norms and patterns of behaviour. It has virtually ignored ethnocultural youth in short and long-term planning as well as decision-making. Ultimately, the government has propagated the notion, indirectly through its actions, that multiculturalism serves as an immigrant policy -- destroying any hope of cross-societal acceptance of the policy as one for all Canadians. The lack of concrete commitment on the part of the federal government in developing a strong practical multicultural policy has clearly demonstrated the political maleability of multiculturalism in Canada. Is multiculturalism considered repressive tolerance by the Anglo-Saxon community? What kind of policy exists in 1986? And for whom does it exist?

## PIGSKIN, POLITICS AND POLICY:

The Ukrainian Students' Union (SUSK) is proud to have taken an active part in the deliberations leading up to the announcement of the multiculturalism policy in 1971 and in the subsequent years of its implementation. SUSK has recognized the need for a policy that reflects true Canadian reality in its institutional structures, economic and social arenas and political life. In the previous fifteen years, we have seen incremental accomplishments in the area of multiculturalism, most notably with the formation of a standing committee on multiculturalism as recommended in the 1985 McGrath Report on Parliamentary Reform. Its mandate, to monitor and encourage the implementation of multiculturalism throughout the Government of Canada, has been long overdue, however, it is too soon to forecast the extent of the committee's actual powers and influence over bureaucratic institutions long since dominated by Anglo-Francophone civil servants. But this tokenistic concession to over 8 million of the nation's ethnocultural citizens demonstrates how Canada's political parties treat the policy as nothing more than an election instrument paving the road to Ottawa. Canada's position as a constitutionally entrenched multicultural society geared to individual rights has not raised the status of ethnocultural pluralism from a political football to a viable and integral and durable part of Canadian society.

The Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (SUSK) believes that the time has come to re-evaluate the direction and focus of multiculturalism in Canada. As Dr. Roman Petryshyn points out in his introduction to the text, Changing Realities: Social Trends Among Ukrainian Canadians:

At the heart of the Ukrainian-Canadian dilemma is an antagonism between accepting the standardized, but

assimilatory, benefits and values of a profit-oriented, technological, Anglo-Canadian society and holding on to a co-operative minority group lifestyle on which the Ukrainian ethnic community in Canada has built a distinctive historical identity.

Ukrainians are not alone in expressing our approach to minority group relations in Canada.

The Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union submits this policy paper in order to isolate five key detriments to the development of a successful multicultural policy during the past fifteen years. Included are recommendations which are hoped to provide for concrete practical steps in the horizontal implementation of multicultural policy in Anglo-Canadian society.

## THE CHARTER AND MULTICULTURALISM:

In his announcement of the multiculturalism policy, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau stated the following in the House of Commons:

The Government of Canada will support all of Canada's cultures and will seek to assist, resources permitting the development of those cultural groups which have a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, as well as a clear need for assistance.

(Hansard, October 8, 1971)

Trudeau acknowledged the right of the individual to voluntarily preserve a distinctive ethnic identity. Government funding would be directed to those groups demonstrating a will to retain their cultures and a need for financial assistance. Thus belonging to an ethnic group would become a voluntary choice and in no way would it guarantee the survival of ethnocultural groups in mainstream society. Logically, attrition, assimilation and time would eventually rid Canada of the 'Third Element' (the non-English, non-French lobby force arising from the B&B Commission proceedings); thereby creating the elusive Canadian cultural identity. Multiculturalism, perhaps, but for whom and for how long?

The patriation of Canada's constitution in 1982 should have legitimized the rightful place of ethnocultural communities in society. Unfortunately, it does not. As Section 27 states, "This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians," it at no time assures, protects nor guarantees group rights instead hindering the development of a structural pluralism allowing ethnocultural groups to function, transmitting their living culture over generations. Former Justice Minister Mark MacGuigan, in an interview with STUDENT newspaper on March 29, 1984, interpreted the section as:

...This Section is really an open-ended one which incorporates the principle of multiculturalism in the Charter...It's capable of leading to, or encouraging the development of a considerable structure of rights in the future for Canadians to whom the notion of multiculturalism does apply.

...The fact, nevertheless, is that there is no official culture in Canada, and the essence of multiculturalism is that we're all equal in culture...

While the Charter does guarantee the rights of both charter groups in Canada, the notion of equality in culture -- transposed to non-charter groups has not been achieved to the same level. Multiculturalism demands recognition and guarantee of basic collective human rights for ethnocultural communities and aboriginal peoples. Our constitution cannot possibly represent all elements of Canadian society without this basic commitment.

## SOCIAL MOBILITY, MULTICULTURALISM AND THE CANADIAN WAY

The issue of social mobility verses minority ethnocultural allegiance points out the paradoxes in multiculturalism policy. John Porter's theory that society is unresponsive to acceptance of ethnic allegiance further denying the equality of opportunity continues fifteen years after Ukrainian Canadian students first grappled with the initial question in the early 1970's. Yuri Boshyk, in 1971 a fourth year political science student at the University of Toronto, put the question bluntly in an article entitled "Multiculturalism and Ukrainianism: Middle Class Sellout" for STUDENT Newspaper, December 1971: does multiculturalism preserve one's ethnocultural background to the detriment of upward mobility or is the concept of multiculturalism dynamic and far reaching enough to seriously bring into question social, political and economic inequalities and thereby

present a model of a more just and egalitarian Canadian society? Today's reality confirms the former. Anglo-Canadian society had not accepted the reality of a multi-cultural component either through its patriation of the constitution, nor by its not legitimizing ethnic group survival in the 1971 policy announcement. Ultimately, multiculturalism fails to perpetuate equality of opportunity because it encourages ethnic group allegiance -- something incompatible with societal norms.

Does this generation of ethnocultural youth have the same to look forward to in the next fifteen years? Porter's theory concludes that assimilation is necessary in order for the individual to succeed in the Canadian mainstream. Prevailing attitudes currently found within the multiculturalism directorate have drawn attention away from the previous policy of cultural community development and focused upon the plight of visible minorities. Concentration upon employment opportunity and education as well as integration into mainstream for the visible minority are leaving community development programs by the wayside. Volunteer participation in heritage retention, lack of group legitimization in institutional structures and current governmental policy fluctuations have virtually assured the necessity of assimilation in order to achieve upward mobility. Multiculturalism has not afforded the right for all members of society to retain equal opportunity, and the lack of affirmative action during the past decade has confirmed the reoccurring necessity towards assimilation. Phasing out of group development aids in forcing communities to accept the consequences of conforming. Has multiculturalism broken down the barriers maintained by the Anglo-Saxon community at large? Unfortunately not. The 1971 federal government's utopian perception of Canada, right through to the 1984 Tory government's current emphasis of race relations and visible minorities had further hindered the growth of permanent ethnocultural community infrastructures to accommodate a living and breathing multicultural policy.

## DUALITY AS A GOVERNMENT POLICY

Multiculturalism policy assumes a division between private and public sectors. In the public sector, multiculturalism maintains that Canadians must acculturate linguistically in order to gain upward mobility. At the same time, the policy advocates the individual democratic rights in obtaining equal opportunity regardless of ethnic persuasion. In the private sector, multiculturalism allows the legitimization of rights of the ethnocultural individual. Here, ethnics are granted the freedom to dance, sing, engage in the ethnic exotica as long as they don't contravene Canadian laws. But the policy doesn't guarantee, as Evelyn Kallen asserts in Ethnicity and Human Rights in Canada,

...support for structural pluralism, that is for the maintenance of educational, religious, language, and/or other ethnic institutions through which a living ethnic-Canadian culture could be transmitted over the generations. Thus, the collective minority rights of members of non-English and non-French ethnic collectivities are neither protected nor guaranteed.

Multicultural policy shortchanges the ethnocultural groups by stressing the expressive nature of their culture rather than "mobilization of corporate ethnic group interests necessary for the equalization of access by immigrant ethnic minorities to political, economic and social power in Canadian society," the latter promoting a functional goal of the policy rather than theoretical and emotional. This binary approach towards multiculturalism remains irreconcilable in the eyes of many members of Canada's minorities, who believe it will destroy the notion of erasing any prevailing political, economic and social inequities facing them.

In addition, the policy strongly promotes economic class division by defining which rights belong to which group in turn facilitating the building of barriers to impede upward mobility of ethnocultural minorities. The dual existence between private and public life for the minority already segregates and isolates; yet the policy, through governmental structures, classifies the citizen more so. There does exist the first-class citizen, as endorsed by the Charter: "one who has his collective linguistic rights officially recognized and guaranteed in public life and whose culture is entrenched within public institutions; i.e. the charter groups; the second-class citizen: one whose collective rights are symbolically reduced reflecting a past ethnic heritage that is strictly observed within the private sector; i.e. the ethnocultural groups; and finally the third-class citizen: Canada's aboriginal peoples whose land



# A POLICY STATEMENT

and historical rights were determined long prior to the arrival of the charter groups. Multiculturalism's ethos of equality actually condones the reality of a Canadian ethnic hierarchy -- one rooted in history and discrimination. Canadians have not moved past the hurdle created by a society quick to be drawn to the mystique of the 'ethnic', while at the same time eager to preserve, under glass, a living organism for mass consumption and display. The era of the cute ethnic has not passed. Although tolerated and encouraged privately, technological society prohibits the functional existence of a legitimate ethnocultural group within the mainstream. Without proper legitimization, one is left with a hollowed structure similar to an Easter egg -- a pysanka -- fragile and beautiful to admire from afar, but with no solid internal substance.

## Ethnocultural Youth and Multiculturalism

Canada's ethnocultural youth have been virtually ignored in policy planning and consultation vis-a-vis the Secretary of State (Youth) and the Multiculturalism Directorate. Policy decisions within the ministry and directorate fail to consider the needs and goals of Canada's non-Anglophone non-Francophone young people and fail to legitimize their collective importance as integral youth components in Canadian society. Lack of insight on the part of governmental officials and respective individual ethnocultural committees have isolated young people from the decisions which will, in the future, affect their personal lives as members of a multi-ethnic society. Ironically, ethnocultural youth are the individuals who control the destiny of minority group existence as they begin to decide personal commitment to retention of ethnicity.

As young Canadians socialized within the realm of the multiculturalism policy in our respective "private" sector communities, we believe that the policy doesn't reflect our current reality. We are the products of an outdated and self-serving governmental policy that hinders our development as Canadians choosing to retain our individual and collective ethnicity. We believe that our needs and objectives to legitimize our communities; to retain our group allegiances without compromising our democratic right to equal opportunity; to partake of Canadian society as full Canadian citizens, as we are, without class distinctions; to witness a multiculturalism policy that is practised unilaterally throughout all of government; to see the recognition of youth as a vital part of the Canadian mosaic; are well within the parameters of a dynamic and potential successful multicultural policy that, since 1971, has consistently failed to live up to expectations. As the 1984 Passport to a Progressive Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism in Toronto demonstrates, the ignorance of the established sectors within society to deal with youth priorities, caused the formation of an ad-hoc youth committee, led by SUSK members, to fill and draw attention to this void. Wishing to present a joint cross-cultural statement to the over 500 delegates and public figures in attendance, the students were initially rebuffed with the claim that time wasn't available. Concerned with this lack of commitment by organizers and mainstream parent organizations, the ad-hoc committee threatened to expose proceedings to the local and national media. Eventually the statement, calling for delegates and "the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada (to) take this unique opportunity to involve youth in charting a new direction for multiculturalism in Canada", was read and circulated among participants. (June 2, 1984, Harbour Castle Hilton, Toronto).

Over a year later with International Youth Year providing the backdrop, the Canadian Ethnocultural Council sponsored a historical national conference for ethnocultural youth in Ottawa. "Being Ethnic and Being Canadian" was the first youth conference of a cross-cultural kind to be held since the inception of the multiculturalism policy in 1971. Over 150 representatives of ethnocultural youth groups from across Canada discussed problems relevant to contemporary lifestyles of young Canadians. While problems of visible minority discrimination and human rights were debated as well as integration into the workforce and immigrant education, a remarkable lack of knowledge was apparent on the issue of multiculturalism. Although most of the delegates have been socialized through governmental programs aiding their ethnic communities, few understand whether the policy is being administered effectively and meeting their individual needs. Potentially, the lack of group development programs similar to those found in charter group committees provide the reasons behind low levels of awareness in political terms, and lower levels of skill development. Further, the ethnocultural youth must deal with the psychological anxieties associated with the existence of a duality of cultures within their personal lifestyle. For youth members of the charter groups, their

cultures are permanently entrenched into public life ensuring language retention and institutional stability and acceptance. The Trudeau announcement itself, "multiculturalism in a bilingual framework", guarantees those rights. Ethnic youth are not as fortunate. Until minority youth groups are accorded the same opportunities to organize and develop their skills on an equal level with other Canadians, the stigma attached in retaining ethnicity will continue as younger generations of ethnocultural youth proceed to follow in the antiquated fifteen year old footsteps of their parents.

The Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union firmly believes that the Federal Government must continue to recognize multicultural communities as an integral part of the Canadian mosaic alongside the English and French. We believe that the policies and practices of multiculturalism must respond to the needs, objectives and priorities of all organizations and their individual members. We believe that the Federal Government must recognize that Canada's position as a constitutionally entrenched multicultural society produces added pressures upon ethnocultural youth groups and that it is imperative that these pressures be addressed in an open and legitimate form.

## Mainstreaming Multiculturalism

From concentration upon often superficial and short term community development for ethnocultural groups to current emphasis upon race relations, fluctuations in multiculturalism have created havoc as ethnic groups struggle to determine today's policy norms. Paradoxically, a policy recognizing various ethnocultural backgrounds of Canadian citizens back in 1971 has formed into a policy perceived by the Anglophone-Francophone majority, for 'immigrants'. Focus upon race relations and visible minorities' integration into society coupled with a possible creation of a 'super' ministry to handle ethnic affairs (Toronto Star, August 9, 1985), propagates this notion, supported also by government and bureaucrats. One ministry to handle immigration, multiculturalism and citizenship would lump all "ethnics" under one roof -- an expedient measure to deal with minorities quickly should the political need arise. What politicians fail to mention is the lessening of power for the Minister of State responsible for Multiculturalism in such a 'super' ministry and the further difficulty for ethnocultural groups to shake off the stigma and label of immigrant. What has been a long campaign to raise the status of multiculturalism to a senior ministry level in Cabinet, is essentially destroyed in one felled swoop by the melting of immigration and multiculturalism.

Current government slogan for multiculturalism "Mainstreaming Multiculturalism" continues the ambiguity. What does it mean? Integration? Does Petryshyn's choice of accepting the benefits and values of technological, Anglo-Canadian society mean paying the price of assimilation? Does the government really mean assimilation, for all Canadians, including the French, English and Native peoples? Clearly the lack of either political cohesion or communication between government decision-makers and civil servants and bureaucrats to isolate and define realistic multicultural policy hinders further positive progress for minorities.

The major problem in the policy is the lack of commitment to implement horizontally, through all ministries, departments and agencies, the policy of multiculturalism. Affirmative action would rectify the problem and positively reflect governmental commitment. But pre-election promises of affirmative action in 1984 in appointing ethnic persons to board and agencies remain hollow, as they are still perceived to pose a serious threat to the mainstream establishment power circles. Carol Goar, national affairs columnist for the Toronto Star, pointed out that in a sweep of Mulroney appointments in late 1984, only one appointment in 90 went to an individual of ethnocultural origin.

...Those numbers speak more eloquently than any words to contradict Mulroney's pre-election declaration: "There is no obligation more compelling, no duty more irresistible than to ensure that our minorities live at all times in conditions of fairness and justice." (Toronto Star, January 10, 1985)

Does the Federal government intend to pay continuous lip-service when faced with the question of minority appointments and unilateral implementation of multiculturalism policy throughout its ministries? The Prime Minister's appointment of Czech-born Otto Jelinek to the post of Minister of state responsible for Multiculturalism brings with it a subordinated role for the policy as Mr. Jelinek retains a double portfolio with Amateur Sport and

Fitness. Is this the commitment a serious government to the problems and concerns of ethnocultural groups in Canada? Concentrated focus on visible minorities, current disarray within the multiculturalism bureaucracy, coupled with Jelinek's close ties to Toronto Tory party members along with a large potential voting bloc of visible minorities within the Metro area, have confirmed suspicions that much attention is being allocated to that area. Political patronage, not yet; but Metro Toronto is only a portion of Canada's large Third Element population and any denial of the rest will prove damaging in the near future.

The Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union believes that the Federal government has refused to take its multiculturalism policy seriously, both internally in Cabinet and bureaucratically in its ministries. Relegating Canada's 8 million ethnics to the backburner will prove a costly political mistake in the coming years. It is estimated that within 10-15 years, over 50% of Canada's voting population will be of non-English, non-French background. The Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union believes that by not legitimizing their existence as full members of Canadian society and by not according them visible political acceptance with affirmative action, the government of Canada continues to display a lack of humanitarian principles in exercising individual and collective human rights for all ethnocultural groups and their members, as Canadian citizens.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend that the Government of Canada entrench collective group rights of non-charter groups within the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, in order to guarantee and preserve full privileges accorded to them as Canadians.
2. We recommend that the Multiculturalism Directorate of the Secretary of State publicly recognize, on an equal level with charter groups, the rights and full privileges of ethnocultural collectivities in Canadian society.
3. We recommend the creation of a senior ministry for multiculturalism with the appointment of a Minister of Multiculturalism responsible to Cabinet for the creation of programs related to this policy.
4. We recommend that Cabinet ensure the implementation of multiculturalism policy through a program of affirmative action within all ministries, departments and agencies.
5. We recommend that the Minister of State for Youth implement this policy by appointing a special assistant responsible for ethnocultural youth.
6. We recommend that the Minister of State responsible for Multiculturalism appoint a special assistant responsible for youth.
7. We recommend that all membership on youth consultative bodies be reviewed and amended in order to recognize and implement and include ethnocultural youth representation on their boards -- most especially those on a governmental level.
8. We recommend that the Federal Government strike a balance between previous policies of community group development and current emphasis on visible minorities in order to ensure stability within these programs and further institutional growth within these communities.
9. We recommend that, as with the French communities, the Federal government grant other ethnocultural groups the political and financial assurances in obtaining sustaining grants to strengthen community secretariats to improve the quality of services performed by these organizations in building and citizenship.
10. We recommend that the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism hold public national hearings in order to consult the Canadian public on the direction and focus of the Federal Government's multiculturalism policy; as well as publish their findings for public consumption.



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